

/12 cont./

862 In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or shard, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for hitting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so hit.

[82] When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawf and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

[15
177] When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time

1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

/44 cont./

an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/46 cont./

264 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others,
592 which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place: on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/49 cont. /

291 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the
855 hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/,

[392] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty,

[415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woollen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of
778 their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear
855 when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter
855 than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hump-backed; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

GOAJIRO PENINSULA, U.S. OF COLOMBIA.

733

dormitory, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of casti. At the death of Salvador, a Pashaina from Arroyo Cardon, 130 fat ones were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Kiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pash, with a gourd spoon, pash. The remainder, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of obtaining an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *saki* or *saki* if the father, and *ai* or *ai* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nashijuan," or if a daughter, "Sashijuan." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuan."

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Allinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *achira*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large kimboch with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *chi*, with a magnificent *sash*, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or draping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense *sash*, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very æsthetic style by a ring or crown,

576 You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*¡mishi pi!*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ai*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally 262 they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

32 We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the *casimba*, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this *casimba* overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

(41) The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed *divi-divi* trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

(45) The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish 32 told us how desperate their plight had been a few years 73

342 those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks
 [352] along this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets
 [415] filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered
 [77] about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels
 were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and
 handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liquor
 jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners
 from the Dutch islands came.

45 Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration.
 53 Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the
 oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but
 there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven
 28 cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung
 [17] vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a
 lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak
 family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished,
 it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The every-
 day belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes in-
 tended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen
 inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow,
 black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting.
 Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as
 colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able
 to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too
 [76] expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom
 [62] decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when
 55 they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's
 everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them
 29 on and then twisted them so that their chest was bare.

The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was
 a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and
 [36] arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff
 from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible
 when they were working in the shade or indoors and
 removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They
 themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice
 patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had
 patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Ballinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

282
415



*Work-lut with warp set up
for a man's sash*

282
415



*The thin Indian dogs licked
the last out of the pot*

282
415



[Ending p81]

7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

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● 415

516



A Goajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife.



Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles.

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones.

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[Facing p. 112]

[76] hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

[273] One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his [415] face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep [431] to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always [609] called her *majeyura*, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

[62] Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

767

A professional mouse

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Below: The daily
bushering

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[Facing p. 128]

They make designs on their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day-break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best Goajiro manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few able), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a stick with to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into threads with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially *dié-dié*.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving harnesses and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shurites are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Cushioncases.—Most cooking stoves are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Tota, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enamel cups and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warlike, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 3 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strong with a special steel cord. The end which rests on the ground is pointed